A "Cool" Approach to Japanese Foreign Policy: Linking Anime to International Relations

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Abstract

International Relations literature is quite unfamiliar with the global phenomenon of anime and manga. This study examines Japanese soft power via approaching anime and manga as its crucial components. The article consists of three main parts. Firstly, Joseph Nye's conceptual framework of soft power is presented; then, the cultural politics of Japanese foreign policy after World War II is described. In the third part, the Cool Japan Project is mentioned as a main column of Japanese soft power. Anime and manga have a central place in this project, with their ability to produce content that is related to Japanese culture. This study aims to analyze the substantial contribution of anime and manga to Japanese soft power.

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Introduction

The disintegration of the Soviet Union triggered the most comprehensive transformation process of recent history. The widespread global transformation that followed the Cold War weakened the explanatory power of established International Relations theories, and led scientists to new research avenues. In this environment, Joseph Nye focused on the concept of "power". By questioning the traditional definition of power, he brought a new breath to the concept. In this article, Nye's soft power concept occupies a central importance as the article aims to create a linkage between anime, manga[1] and Japanese foreign policy. The Cool Japan Project has an irreplaceable role in the Japanese culture industry, which produces the main components of Japanese soft power. Anime and manga

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represent two of the main columns of the culture industry. Thus, it has an essential relation with the country's foreign policy.

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After the Second World War, the ban on the use of military force led Japan to seek different foreign policy choices. In this process, Japan, along with the Yoshida Doctrine, directed its attention to commercial and economic policies. The globalization wave in the 1990s provided new opportunities to Japan for its economy-based foreign policy approach. These opportunities have emerged thanks to the international popularity of anime and manga. The aim of the Cool Japan Project is to make Japanese pop-culture more effective as a soft power tool in foreign policy. Although the video game industry also has a significant place in Cool Japan, anime and manga are much more important in terms of producing content, creating culture, forming new societies and affecting international sociology.

Anime has been studied in many different academic areas, for example, the psychological aspects of anime-related fan events,[2] characteristics of anime in Japanese art history,[3] transcultural aspects of anime and hybrid identities,[4] tourism,[5] information technologies[6] etc. This study considers anime as a soft power element according to the International Relations literature and assesses it as a central element of Japanese soft power. Subsequently, through the context of the Cool Japan Project, it is deemed also to be indirectly linked to Japanese foreign policy. Thus, this study aims to contribute to research on anime's role as a soft power element within the International Relations literature.

This study consists of three main parts. The first part examines Joseph Nye's soft power concept from a historical perspective. In the second part, the history of Japanese soft power is analyzed and the transformation of Japan and its foreign policy after the Second World War are examined. Subsequently, Japan's transformation and institutional activism are described along with the globalization wave of the 1990s. In the third part, first, Cool Japan is described and second, anime and manga's substantial place in Cool Japan is explored.

Soft Power: A Conceptual Framework

Conceptualization of soft power can be taken as a critique of realism. Realist theory claims to provide a useful base for decision makers, however, it neglects ideas and social forces that shape identities. Interactions of international institutions, diverse groups and individuals also generate significant outputs in international politics.[7] It is therefore necessary to extend the concept of power outside of the frame of realist theory and deal with it on a new ground.

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In 2004, Joseph Nye compiled his major works in the study "Power in a Global Information Age".[8] The categorization of the articles made by Nye himself is remarkable. It refers to an implicit intellectual procession of Nye's concept of "soft power". The study, which started by revealing the limits of realist theory, draws a conceptual line through globalization, interdependence and governance, through the concept of soft power.

The realist sense of power conception is based on gauging the position of other actors within a rather exclusive "hard" dimension. As in the carrot-stick analogue, hard power including military and economic capacity has threatening and rewarding mechanisms. However, similar results can be obtained without using such methods, and soft power forms the "other side" of power.[9] State A can ensure that its dominant political and social values are internalized by state B; without outmaneuvering it by using martial or economic instruments. State A can establish itself as a model to be taken by the means of its transparency, prosperity, culture, domestic practices, legitimate foreign policy, and social values. Thus, State B (and other states) might prefer to internalize and implement the practices of State A, and prefer its international priorities.[10]

Joseph Nye first introduced the concept of soft power in his book "*Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power,*" which was published in 1990. In this study he argues that it is necessary to retain the indirect and abstract dimension of power in order to identify the agenda and draw the frame of a debate. This dimension that originates from the abstract social processes of power can be considered as soft power.[11] In the same year, "Soft Power"[12] and "The Changing Nature of Power in World Politics"[13] were published in the journals *Foreign Policy* and *Political Science Quarterly*

respectively, further embedding the soft power concept into the literature.

Nye likens the concept of power to weather conditions in terms of international politics: Everyone is talking about power; however, nobody can bring a comprehensive approach to the concept. The dictionary meaning of power is to act and control others, however it is difficult to define and measure the power in international politics. In the world of the 1990s; categories such as natural resources, population and geography which were understood as material sources of power, started to lose their importance. On the other hand, such factors as technology, education and economic growth were rapidly gaining importance, signaling that power should be taken into account by considering new sources. This transformation makes the concept of power an abstract category in certain meanings.[14] To avoid confusion, new sources of power should be described in more detail.

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Nye, in his works published in 1990, revealed the sources of soft power but did not go into a clear categorization. In his book "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics," published in 2004, this deficiency was removed and he suggested that there are three soft power sources. These are culture, political values and foreign policy. Culture attracts the attention of others; political values can find space for themselves both at home and abroad; and foreign policy is a source of legitimacy and authority. According to Nye, the institutions in which soft power is produced appear as corporations, universities, foundations, churches or other non-governmental organizations.[15] Soft power is the ability to determine other actors' own preferences. In this sense, the decision-making process is more important than the decision itself. The main mechanism of soft power functions on the decision-making process of the other actors.

Soft power has become a central concept in the International Relations literature since the early 2000s. Among the most important reasons for this situation are developments in communication and transportation technologies. According to Nye, the acceleration in mass communication processes is revolutionary and it has now become much more costly to maintain a closed and repressed

domestic political structure.[16] The effect of this is that world politics has become more sophisticated in this context, and direct influence through leading elites is more difficult. This means that; even for the US, the world's sole superpower, it is hard to sustain traditional hegemonic policies. According to Nye, the importance of soft power emerges at this point. All states, including a superpower like the US, have to consolidate their soft power to achieve foreign policy goals.[17]

Soft power should not be perceived simply as influence in a narrow perspective, as influence can be produced by hard power tools as well. The persuasive ability of soft power should not be sought in the external processes of actor relations. Instead, the process of internalizing certain actors' thoughts and behavioral patterns should be focused on.[18] At this point, soft power's relation with norms becomes significant. Constituent norms of soft power must have the qualities that attract other actors' attention. However, even when the desired result is obtained and the intended effect is created, it is difficult to measure it.[19]

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When compared with the "commanding" hard power, soft power emerges in cooperative and harmonious relations. At this point, Nye shows an example of the parents' relationship with their children. Children can be kept under control as long as their beliefs and priorities are shaped by their parents. Repressive and force-based parental methods may work on the child to some extent, but they will lose their effect in the long-term effect, and these methods may go even against the parents.[20] Compared to hard power, soft power is not a more effective or moral power type. As hard power tools are used for negative purposes, soft power can also be used in a similar manner. Globalization, information-based economies and increasing interdependence have increased the emphasis on the soft dimension of power.[21] Such developments will also have an impact on the future of power.[22] This transformation in the power phenomenon is valid for all actors. Therefore, it would be fallacious to think of hard and soft power as independent of each other.

Japanese Soft Power: Past and Present

Until the end of the Second World War, Japan carried out imperial policies in the region based on hard power and bringing great destruction to all areas

of life. After the war, Japan entered into a radical transformation process, seeking ways to develop friendly relations with regional countries on the basis of economic prosperity. This section examines both legal and political aspects of the transformation that Japan has realized. In this context, the institutional activism in the establishment of Japanese soft power and the Cool Japan Project, which has a central importance in soft power policies, are analyzed. Finally, the role of anime in this institutional and political structure, which is considered the essential contribution to the literature, is studied.

Why is Soft Power so Important for Japan?

The transformation of global politics and the increasing importance of soft power have been recognized by the Japanese government. However Japan has realized this transformation through a number of historical obligations of its own. First, it is legally prohibited for Japan to have military power. Japan, defeated in World War II, was occupied by the Allies until 1952. In November 1946, the new Constitution proposed by the Allies was adopted. According to Article 9 of the Constitution, which is still in force, Japan was forced to disperse all land, naval and air forces and was banned from using the potential of war.[23]

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized."[24]

While entering the new world order after the Cold War, Japan did not possess hard power in the beginning. Therefore, there was no choice for Japan but to focus on soft power. Although Japan's abandonment of hard power is an obligation; with the peaceful policies that have been put into practice, Japanese society has focused on economic and cultural development policies on their own initiative. Culture, which is one of the three basic sources of soft power, is the main focus of the Japanese government in this context. Starting from its own near abroad, Japan has begun to take interest in the whole world with systematic policies, and has made itself a center of attraction. The good results achieved in the economy, the establishment and strengthening of cultural institutions

with the support of the government, have been the dominant elements of Japanese soft power. The Yoshida Doctrine, which was declared in 1946, has emphasized the economic priority; with the Fukuda Doctrine, in 1977, it was once again emphasized that Japan would not pursue pro-power policies. Under these circumstances; subsequent Japanese governments, which have followed policies to increase their economic power for many years, have not missed opportunities to increase foreign trade and have been able to transform the country's cultural products into consumer goods.

> With the peaceful policies that have been put into practice, Japanese society has focused on economic and cultural development policies on their own initiative.

The second factor that made Japan focus on soft power is the fact that Japan's most important export market is its own periphery.[25] As a result of this, in Southeast Asia, Japan has increased its influence not in the military but in the cultural sense. Seeking ways to strengthen its historical ties with the near abroad, Japan has used both traditional and popular culture as a means of interaction. In this respect, Japan's image has been strengthened in nearby countries, and consumption of Japanese products has increased. The Japanese government has also made moves to strengthen its international trade ties and to open up to the Western market. In this context, Japan became a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in the 1950s, and became a member of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in the 1960s. In addition, the US pressured Western European states, in order to open up to Japanese products; thus, Japan has benefited from the US's leading position in international trade.[26]

Post–War Era and the Yoshida Doctrine

Despite Japan's being remembered for its hard-power policies in the pre-war era, the use of culture as a diplomatic instrument in Japan actually goes back to the 1920s. Japan, with its goal of becoming a colonial power, sought to use a number of cultural commonalities shared with other nations of the region against Western competitors.[27] Japan pursued imperial and expansionist policies in the process leading up to World War II and took steps to increase its sphere of influence in the region. With the outbreak of the war,

Japanese expansion gained a military character and the Japanese armed forces started occupations. After the war, Japan intended to break the anti-Japanese sentiment that was formed in the region after the war and started to establish policies to strengthen its international image.[28]

Seeking ways to strengthen its historical ties with the near abroad, Japan has used both traditional and popular culture as a means of interaction.

The colossal demolition of World War II and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in particular, caused a traumatic effect on the Japanese people. As a consequence, Japan decided to avoid using violence as a political instrument in foreign policy processes. The military protection provided by the US to Japan after the war was also effective in this decision. Subsequently, the policy promulgated by the Yoshida Doctrine, which is named after Japan's Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, was formalized.[29] According to this, Japan is an island country with a crowded population and it depends on overseas trade to achieve high standards of living. Therefore, Japan should give its political weight to commercial and economic development.[30] Along with

the Yoshida Doctrine, Japan left behind its aggressive foreign policy in the post-war period, and cooperated with the regional countries by establishing economy-focused relations. This provided a suitable environment for the soft power policies that would begin to be established in the 1970s.

The Pre-Globalization Era and the Basis of Japanese Soft Power

By the 1970s, Japan had recovered in economic terms and succeeded to shroud the wounds of war to a large extent. At this period, the Fukuda Doctrine was the determining factor of Japanese foreign policy. In 1977, Prime Minister Fukuda Takeo once again emphasized that Japan would not be a military force, and that Japan's intention was to develop positive relations with Southeast Asian states on a basis of mutual trust and understanding. In addition, Japan would promote cooperation with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) governments and take initiatives for the establishment of peace and prosperity in the region.[31]

In conjunction with these policies, in 1972, *The Japan Foundation*, one of Japan's most important cultural institutions, was established. The Foundation's objective is to develop

friendly relations with the world on the basis of mutual trust and understanding. In this context, relations are established through categories of culture, language and dialogue.[32] In 1973, the *Japan Foundation Awards* were announced and a "friendship program" was initiated. In 1984 Japanese language proficiency tests were put into practice. Accordingly, the *Urawa Japanese Language* Institute was established within the foundation in 1989.[33] While The Japanese Foundation operates in the cultural dimension of relations, the *Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)* was established in 1974 with the aim of operating on the economic footing of the relations. The JICA consists of private sector representatives and public officials. A range of technical and economic co-operation, including financial assistance, is aimed at contributing to the socio-economic development of developing countries.[34]

With the boost of globalization, Japanese culture was about to have a tremendous international influence with the arrival of the 1990s.

In the 1970s, Japan's second largest export market was the Southeast Asian states. At the same time, the stability of Southeast Asia in terms of raw material flow was important for Japan. Following the Vietnam War, the United States' damaged image and its announcement on a reduction of its military presence in the region, obliged Japan to take more responsibility for the stability of the region.[35] Japan had to be more visible on the one hand; and on the other, it had to avoid reproducing the negative images of the war. In this context, both institutional activism and official foreign policy positively reflected Japan's image in the region. Thus, with the boost of globalization, Japanese culture was about to have a tremendous international influence with the arrival of the 1990s.

The Post-Cold War Era and the Globalization Wave

Two essential changes that took place in the 1990s paved the way for soft power politics that Japan had already begun to implement to a certain extent in Southeast Asia since the 1970s. First; with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, old communist regimes began to integrate into global capitalism. Second; advancements in communication technologies were enabling media content to circulate more quickly and easily around the globe. As a result, Japanese cultural products were not limited to this region alone anymore, and began spreading rapidly all over

the world, meeting masses of fans.

Until the 1990s, cultural interaction was enhanced with exchange programs, language education, Kabuki[36] and Japanese tea ceremonies. Good relations were established through a number of values shared with the societies of the region but perceived to be more associated with Japan, such as determination, hard work, commitment to family, and the challenges of non-Western modernization. In the 1990s, Japanese media acquired an important place in the region, and Japanese television programs' and pop idols' popularity increased significantly in Southeast Asia. Following these developments, the importance of government support for the media industry was recognized, and in 1991 the *Japan Media Communication Center* (JAMCO) was established.[37] JAMCO produces a variety of TV programs, including free documentaries, programs and dramas for kids, and educational programs for TV channels of developing countries. With content in English, Spanish, French and Arabic, JAMCO produced 11,145 programs in 90 countries in total.[38] Programs are made on a wide range of topics such as nature, the environment, foodstuff, science and technology, traditional culture, history and modern living.[39]

The Japan Foundation also accelerated its activities in the 1990s and expanded its institutional structure. In 1990, the *Japan Foundation ASEAN Culture Center* was formed. In 1991, the *Abe Fellowship Program* was launched and the *Center for Global Partnership* was opened. In 1997, the *Japanese Language Institute Kansai* was established. In 2003, the Japan Foundation was reorganized as an independent organization. In 2010, the *Standard for Japanese–Language Education* was announced. The *China* and *Asia Centers* were established within the Foundation in 2006 and 2014, respectively. The Foundation conducts international partnership programs in the areas of language education, art, culture and science.[40] It has 24 branches in 23 different countries.[41] In these countries, cultural exchange is carried out in three fields, namely art, language education and intellectual exchange. The Foundation has conducted activities on fashion, cinema, music, drama and design in the countries where it operates. The Foundation is cooperating with the *Sakura Network*, a global network of Japanese-language educational institutions. As part of this; in 264 cities, 652,519 people took a Japanese-language proficiency test in 2015. In the same year, the Japan Centers and the Japan Foundation's overseas offices conducted 198 Japanese-language education programs and received 100,406 attendees. In 2015, the number of course takers

increased by 19,542.[42] Although the foundation did not have an essential development in the institutional sense until the 1990s, it accelerated its institutionalization activities towards the 2000s and achieved independent status in 2003.

> The government has found significant institutional activism and has opened the way for more products to be produced and distributed with promotive policies.

In the 2000s, Japanese produced media products began to spread all over the world and found a market in Western countries in particular. In this process, the concept of "Cool Japan" came to be added to Japanese foreign policy discourse. Japan's growing international popularity also led to an increase in the number of "cool" productions each year. Subsequently, a pop-culture diplomacy emerged and the export of media products was connected to more institutional mechanisms. At the same time, US President George W. Bush's harsh policies and growing global tension increased sympathy for Japan and its soft power. This created economic opportunities for Japanese companies and paved the way for Japanese products in world markets. In

this context, the Koizumi government took important steps between 2001 and 2006. Institutions such as the *Head Office for Intellectual Property Strategy* (2002), the *Committee for Tourism Nation* (2003), the *Committee for Info-communication Software* (2003), the *Research Committee for Content Business* (2005), the *J-Brand Initiative* (2003), and the *Council for the Promotion of International Exchange* (2006) were established to make policies more systematic. More developments were implemented at the ministerial level. The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) established the *Cool Japan Promotion Office* in 2010. Soon after, the *Council for the Promotion of Cool Japan* was appointed by the Cabinet Secretariat. In 2006, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) adopted an official policy of pop-culture diplomacy. In the same year, MOFA assumed sponsorship of the World Cosplay Summit.[43] In 2008, an anime character, *Doraemon,* was appointed as "Anime Ambassador". Although METI works only on market promotion, MOFA implements more inclusionary policies on Japanese culture.[44]

The success of Japanese pop-culture has created a new policy area for the Japanese government. The government has found significant institutional activism and has opened the way for more products to be produced and distributed with promotive policies.

In April 2005, the government issued a declaration entitled "Japan's 21st Century Vision".[45] According to this, Japan should produce policies for the purpose of becoming a "culturally creative nation" as of 2020.[46] To this end, Japan should take advantage of its own culture, creative power and technology, increase free exchange between cultures, and strengthen its new global position. This situation, as described above, has led to a new link between the state and cultural industries. As the economic and diplomatic values of cultural products have increased, policy makers have instrumentalized them.[47] Manga and anime products that are unique to Japan, have a particular place in the production of such creative products.

What is the Cool Japan Project?

The concept of "Cool Japan" has a central importance in terms of Japanese soft power. Originally, the term was first used in 1967 by a British band *Bonzo Dog Doo Dah* as: "Cool Britannia, Britannia you are cool/Take a trip!/Britons ever, ever, ever shall be hip."[48] In the 1990s "Cool Britain" was embraced by the British government in order to recreate Britain as an epitome of culture, style and innovation.[49] However, the concept of "Cool Britain" has not been as comprehensive as "Cool Japan" and has long been forgotten. In 2002, US journalist Douglas McGray's article "Japan's Gross National Cool", written for *Foreign Policy* magazine, paved the way for the popularization of the concept.[50] The concept began to be discussed in the early years of the 2000s, and in the second decade of the 2000s, it became part of official policies. After McGray's article, the notion of soft power that, in the eyes of many, only the United States possesses, began to be associated with Japan. According to McGray, Japan is able to create patterns of consumption through its domestic creative industry. Thanks to the "Gross National Cool", Japan would have its own soft power. After McGray's article, in 2003 *Time* magazine prepared a special edition titled "Asia," with a "Cool Japan" cover. According to *Time*, Japan was turning its pop-culture into a major industrial resource.[51]

Cool Japan spontaneously emerged in the market and the Japanese government has carefully transformed, sterilized, and begun to use it for its own policy interests.

Cool Japan has become a part of the Japanese cultural industry in the 2000s and has also begun to be discussed

in academic circles. According to Valaskivi, Cool Japan is creating a new social imagination. The rhetoric for Cool Japan is similar to the processes of imagining and representing the idea of "nation".[52] Daliot-Bul also deals with Cool Japan from a similar point of view. According to Daliot-Bul, Cool Japan spontaneously emerged in the market and the Japanese government has carefully transformed, sterilized, and begun to use it for its own policy interests.[53] Storz claims that in the 1990s Japan's competitive power was weak in new areas such as business software or biotechnology. However, with transformations and institutional shifts in innovation systems, the competitiveness of video games produced by Japan's "cool" industry has significantly increased.[54] Abel analyzes the concept of "cool" in depth and discusses whether the troubles experienced due to the great tsunami disaster in 2011 can be overcome with Cool Japan.[55] Concerning the central position of anime in Cool Japan, Condry treats anime as a collection of texts and focuses on the creation processes. He describes the cultural influences created by the anime with the stages of the creation process.[56]

In 2004, a work entitled "Intellectual Property Strategic Program", published by *Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters*, pointed to a dramatic increase in the content business.

Categories such as movies, music, animation and game software; which form the subcategories of the content business, are shown to have achieved significant global success. However, parties do not carry out their activities in a common framework. Although the size of the Japanese content business amounts to US$ 8.7 billion, its share in GDP is below world standards.[57] This report emphasizes the size and importance of the content business sector and indicates that it can play an important role for the establishment of Japanese soft power: "However, since the content business is operated on a large scale and involves various industrial fields, it is not only expected to drive the Japanese economy but also to play a significant role in improving the image of Japan abroad ("soft power"). Therefore, it is an important industry for designing the national strategy."[58]

Anime and manga's place within the content industry is detailed in the report entitled "Content Industry Current Status and Direction of Future Development" published by the *Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry* (METI) in April 2016. The size of Japanese content in the foreign market amounts to US$ 13.8 billion and constitutes 2.5% of the foreign content market. The subcategories are as follows in terms of sales rates in foreign markets according to their sectors:

Manga, game, character merchandise, animation, movie-music-broadcast.[59]

In May 2011, the concept of Cool Japan became part of official policies with the proposal prepared by the *Cool Japan Advisory Council*.[60] In 2012, *METI* launched a roadmap by publishing a report on the promotion of the "Cool Japan Strategy and the Creative Tokyo Project". According to this report, the Cool Japan strategy, which is based on anime, fashion, food culture, design and tourism, is described as follows: "Through the Cool Japan Strategy, ensure employment by promoting overseas development by small and medium businesses and young designers, attracting tourists to Japan, and revitalizing local communities."[61]

In March 2013, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe announced his support for the Cool Japan strategy and stated that he planed to establish a public-private entity in this context.[62] As a result of this, in November 2013, the Cool Japan Fund (a public-private fund) was established to support Japanese products in the global market.[63] It was announced that Japan would provide US$ 1 billion in support for its "soft" exports including Japanese ancestral cuisine, fashion and cinema.[64] The Cool Japan Initiative's report in 2014 once again emphasized the importance of the public-private partnership, which was assigned to the responsibility of

METI. According to this report, Japan is the country that produces the most creative products in the world with a share of 36% in the global market. Japanese products compete in the fields of cinema, music, drama and animation with products from Europe, USA and Korea in major Asian cities such as Taipei, Hong Kong, Bangkok, and Shanghai. Although Japanese products do not perform well in the categories of cinema and music; they have similar popularity rates with their competitors in drama. The situation in the anime and manga sectors is much different: Japan has undisputed superiority in the region.[65] According to the Cool Japan Movement Promotion Council's report in 2014, Cool Japan's objectives are listed in three steps: The first is "Promoting Domestic Growth", the second is "Connecting Japan and Other Countries", and the third is "Becoming Japan That Helps the World".[66] Once again, the importance of public-private partnership in achieving these aims emerges.

The most important move Japan has made is to redesign public-private cooperation according to the conditions of the day, especially according to the soft power that makes up the conceptual framework of this work. From Nye's perspective, the line between the private and public sectors in the global economy is increasingly blurred. Old-style national companies

are leaving their place to hybrid organizations.[67] The final report of the Intellectual Property Strategic Program published in 2016 by the Intellectual Property Strategy Promotion Headquarters focuses on a similar subject. A public-private partnership that is hardly mentioned in the same organization's first report in 2004, is an important part of the 2016 report. The report emphasizes the importance of public-private partnership to promote new content expansion. In addition to the production of Japanese content, the produced content must be linked to different industries and new markets must be created: "It is from this standpoint, and in line with the "Intellectual Property Strategic Program 2015," that the "Cool Japan Public-Private Partnership Platform" was established in December 2015 in order to serve as a mechanism for specific promotion of essential, integrated development between content-producing and non-content-producing industries. It was under the auspices of this Platform that the "Cool Japan Business Seminar" was held in collaboration with the comprehensive, commercial "Anime Japan" animation event in March 2016 to facilitate cross-sector matching for content-related industries and others."[68]

Anime industry is about 12% of the video game industry, which is another part of the Cool Japan project.[69]

Although anime and manga industries have less share than the video game industry in the Japanese economy; the main content of Japanese popular culture emantes from anime and manga. Economic size, therefore, is not a decisive indicator of sectors in Cool Japan. On the contrary, anime and manga are seen as the flagship of the Cool Japan project. As a result, special attention is given to anime and manga in order to achieve Cool Japan's strategic goals.[70]

The Substantial Place of Anime and Manga in Cool Japan

Among Japanese cultural elements, anime and manga need further attention since they enjoy the most widespread global diffusion. The history of manga, which has a special place in Japanese culture, dates back to ancient times. Since the 12th century manga has been produced in scrolls and formed the basis of modern manga. The contents of the drawings were common animals such as frogs, monkeys and foxes. Although religious content has also entered as subjects of manga over time; in the 17th and 18th centuries, secular issues started to be processed and manga became commercialized. In the 19th century, manga took its place in daily life

and created its own market. During the turbulent years of the 1920s and 1930s, manga was used as a means of resistance against the repressive policies of authoritarian rule and therefore increased its popularity. In addition to manga describing the war period (both humanistic and political), it began to be drawn in new categories (sports, school, romance, etc.) after the war.[71] Diversity in the mentioned categories made it possible for adults to be manga readers too. This has helped to popularize anime, most of which have been adapted to the screen from the manga since the 1980s.

> The Japanese pop-culture industry does not only produce its own products, but also reproduces global products in its own style.

Albeit the first anime prototypes appeared at the beginning of the 20th century when silent films were filmed, anime in its modern sense is based on the years following World War II. In this period, when anime was trying to find a place for itself on the screen, the animation industry was under the dominance of Disney. In 1956, the famous *Toei Animation* was established and aimed to be the "Disney of the East".[72] Famous directors such as Takahata Isao and Miyazaki Hayao, who grew up in Toei, gave birth to another famous animation studio "Studio Ghibli".[73] The biggest difference between Disney animations and Japanese anime is the content. In these years; animations, like cartoons, were made for children. However, Japanese anime carries all aspects of life on the screen. Many categories such as sports, science-fiction, mythology, horror, and even adult content are the subjects.[74] This aspect of anime has increased the diversity of target audience and has strengthened its hand against Western style animation. According to the Association of Japanese Animations, 60 member anime production companies are now providing products in 112 countries, reaching to some 87.2 % of the world's population.

The Japanese pop-culture industry does not only produce its own products, but also reproduces global products in its own style. Popular Hollywood products such as Matrix, Kill Bill, and even Shakespeare's works have been adapted to the anime style. The growing popularity of anime has created fans around the world and world-wide fan groups have started to be established. Fans are also involved in the reproduction process of Japanese pop-culture in this context.[75] Fans'

participation to the production process increases the "intercultural" nature of the anime. Fan-made subtitles, toys, costumes, etc. create a unique way of contribution to anime. Therefore, the "language" of anime is becoming more and more global with each passing season.[76]

Anime production has created a sector that does not require large costs and thus has a high level of sustainability. Anime can be produced with a combination of a few actors. Yet in the production phase it is also open to contributions made by people of different backgrounds. This has led to a significant turnover of the anime content, which was initially influenced by Japanese culture. Increasingly, Manga artists, sponsors, investors and fans have become part of the production process.[77]At the same time, the increasing attractiveness of anime has created a phenomenon under the name of "otaku tourism".[78] Anime fans organize visits to the cities where their favorite anime is produced. These visits appear as a kind of "pilgrimage", and help to create new social groups and communication channels. According to Okamoto, the audience is increasing their admiration by visiting places of interest.[79]

The word *otaku* means geek and/or nerd. The concept of otaku was first used in 1983 by a manga named Cute Pie Comics (Manga Burikko). Today it expresses "extreme" fans who do not want to get out of the world created by anime and manga. *Otaku*s are defined as introverted people, with weak social ties and very few friends.[80] In Japan, the otaku culture has spread so much that the sociological consequences of this situation are evident in Akihabara (a district famous for selling electronics products in Tokyo). In 2007, Akihabara's popularity surpassed that of Tokyo Disneyland. Akihabara is home to the otaku. Flooded with anime products, it welcomes foreign tourists to a considerable extent: "A convergence of discursive forces economic and political, cultural and social, domestic and foreign conditioned a "cool" otaku image in Akihabara, which reframed and restricted the possibilities for people gathering there."[81] Anime series are so influential that fans are even taking it further and seeing anime characters as their friends.[82] Some fans who are seeking spiritual pursuits even base this on anime, seeing the series they admire as a kind of spiritual guide.[83] As a result of this, anime's (and in conjunction with it, manga's) ability to affect the masses can be considered to be quite high. The phenomenon that emerged in Japan has spread rapidly throughout the world and has created a new sociology by creating its own societies.

Problems of Japanese Soft Power in the 21st Century

During the early 2000s Japan started to shrug off the post-bubble slump, but the positive atmosphere dissipated after the 2008 global financial crisis. There have been two important reasons for this. The first is simply the difficulty of catching up with the old sales figures in difficult market conditions. The second comes from the challenges of increased competition from international firms. What is meant by the latter is that Japan's pop-culture products are becoming more and more de-centralized with the ever-developing information technologies. The involvement of different actors into the production and consumption processes has also started to transform the content of Japanese pop-culture products, slowly breaking the Japanese monopoly. Although the spread of the Otaku culture in Hong Kong, South Korea and China was encouraged by Japan in the 1990s, this has also led to the change of Japanese pop-culture. According to Mori, it is impossible for Japanese cultural products to remain "as is" in Asia's huge geography.

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Moreover, the breakthroughs that Japan has made were implemented by China and South Korea as well. The Chinese government established animation-focused television channels in 2004, requiring the broadcasts of these channels to be mostly made in China. Although China's cultural policies have not achieved the expected success, South Korea has made a breakthrough. Korean dramas in particular have found a very large audience.[84] Nevertheless, China's superiority and cultural capacity in the region is considered more by Japan. Japan, with its cultural products, entered the Chinese market aiming to be permanent, and tried to create a pan-Asian market. In this context, co-productions with China and South Korea have increased. However, China's economic success and physical size have always been a source of concern for Japan.[85] The traces of this concern are also seen in the changing character of Japanese foreign policy.

In the 2010s, Japan has begun to change its traditional foreign policy which was implemented after World War II. In this context, Japan's low profile foreign policy mentality, which was in force for more than half a century, has begun to be abandoned. The debate surrounding Article 9 of the Constitution has found a particular place on the public agenda and Japan has started to review its international role. As a result, Japan

has increased its participation in international peacekeeping activities. Through peacekeeping, Japan aims to maximize its security and prestige and to build a more active foreign policy, possibly allowing more room for the use of the armed forces. By expanding the scope of its national security concept, Japan does not only consider security in its own borders, but also aims to take the initiative for peace all over the world.[86] Considering the conceptual nature of soft power, evaluating the effectiveness of Japanese soft power on its national security is very difficult. Consequently, after 2010, Japan began to combine its peaceful profile that was built after World War II with its military capacity, to actively participate in international peace-keeping missions.

Conclusion

Japan was defeated in the Second World War and continues to have legal obstacles to increases in its hard power. Therefore soft power mechanisms offer an important opportunity for Japanese foreign policy. In this regard, Japan first developed its cultural relations at the regional level and established relations on the basis of shared traditional cultural values, extending into popular culture. Thanks to the relationships established through mutual friendship and cooperation, pop-culture products

managed to spread internationally. The impact of pop-culture products to the masses in the 1990s did not escape the attention of the Japanese government and necessary institutional activism began to be realized. In the 2000s, the Japanese culture industry institutionalized effectively and attracted masses on a global scale. As a content producer, anime and manga played a great role in this success.

> By expanding the scope of its national security concept, Japan does not only consider security in its own borders, but also aims to take the initiative for peace all over the world.

A number of new studies can be realized in connection with this study. Japanese pop-culture has been a source of Japanese soft power, with many years of creative work and political moves coming together. However, nowadays many pop-culture products produced by Japan find new sources from outside of Japan. This situation inevitably reduces Japanese culture's international influence. Furthermore, global giants such as Hollywood and Netflix compete more and more effectively with the Japanese anime industry.[87] The 2008 global financial crisis and the emergence of new global security

threats have dissolved the favorable climate created by the economic and political globalization of the 2000s. The emergence of the concept of soft power depends precisely on the dynamics of a favorable global environment. Today, there is an increasing pressure on states to put military policies into practice. In this environment, anime-as a component of soft power- might play an interesting role in combining soft and hard power.

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Endnotes

1   The history of Manga, Japanese traditional drawing art, is based on ancient times. In the 19th century, manga became modernized and in the 20th century emerged as an alternative to the Western-style comic. Any category in life can be a subject of manga. In this respect, manga is not only specific to children; a significant number of adults are interested in manga as well. Anime is animated version of manga. The anime industry, which emerged as an alternative to Disney in the 20th century, has its own artistic style. This study does not consider manga and anime as separate categories. In the "Substantial Place of Anime and Manga in Cool Japan" section, anime's and manga's history and definition is discusssed in detail.

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